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1. The duties of the Underground are well known to the public because of the period during the German occupation. Times have, however, changed and the glorious days during which the whole nation resisted are over. This change necessitates also a change in methods. The Underground fighting the Communists' invasion must be aware of the dangers, and of the scope of its responsibilities. These go far beyond the frontiers of Poland, as Communism does. We can observe the happenings in Greece, in Spain where a new revolution is being prepared, Palestine, and the ferment going on in the colonies. All this is the work of the Communist Underground.

Today's Underground on Polish territory must be divided in two: the organizations fighting for Polish independence, and the secret Government of the 17th Republic with its networks and partisans. Not all know that the Warsaw Government is only a puppet in the hands of the Politburo composed of Berman, secretary; Zambrowski and Mine, deputies; Bierut; Rymowski; Gomulka; Zukiewski; Borejko, members. This is the true Government of Poland. This group of leaders have their own intelligence network and organization with which they have been able to dominate all sections of public and domestic life in the country. Besides this network, they have the secret groups of the PPR and the NKVD partisan groups. The Polish Politburo falls directly under the Communist Executive of Poland. It is slowly Sovietizing our economic life, paralysing all constructive Polish political movements, and taking them over. It is steadily conducting warfare, robberies, and murders under the guise of the Polish independence movement. Its aim is to make Poland the 17th Republic of USSR and doing all these things which cannot be done openly by a "democratic" PPR and a so-called independent Government.

Everyone knows today that the Warsaw Government does not represent the Polish Nation and does not fight for its good. On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxons do not recognize the London Government. The remnant of the latter, cut off from the country, has lost its direct contact with the Nation, the sense of realities, and its capacity for leadership - the country and its people exist, however. The Polish Nation must outlast, and pass through all difficulties with honors, even if they become even greater. The Nation cannot be left without leadership and cannot be thrown to the Communists. The PSL is an example that legal opposition cannot endure in the Communist system.

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This role of leading the Polish Nation has been taken on by the Independence group. The most important duty and aims have not changed much from the occupational period. But the methods have changed basically. Once we fought with weapons, today we are releasing all forest groups. Knowing the aims of our enemy we warn the Nation and we show it the road to take. We are a part of the Nation, with roots deeply in all institutions, living and suffering with the Nation we will settle all the problems as they come up with our scant means.

Having grown out of all ways of life, hardened by the fight and national tragedies, persecuted by foreigners, abandoned by friends, without glory, citation or material help we have inscribed on our flag: through work and suffering to freedom of the individual, and to National Independence. This program must vanquish.

2. The plans of the Big Three are very divergent. Reality will not, however, allow prolonging this situation endlessly. A showdown in the present crisis will come no matter what the diplomats think or want.

We must get through this temporary situation, as a Nation and as individuals. We may not work with the occupying power in its aim to destroy the Nation. We may not also deny reality and in no case may we despair. Disagreeing with the Communists we are working in all branches of economic, political, social, military life in accord with the directives. We must work, especially because otherwise there is either no work done or work is done by those who have sold out to Russia and are working to Poland's detriment.

All good Poles who have been able to keep their honesty and love of country can rest assured that they are doing well and that the future free Fatherland will be grateful to them for their honesty, their non-compromising attitude toward the freedom of the individual and the Nation's independence on one hand, and the invader on the other.

We call on those who, because of the methods of the NKVD and UB, are still in the forests to stop the fight; they are now useless and in 99% directed by the NKVD.

We admonish those who lost faith and have put forward "reality" concepts, and are disseminating doubt in the future to come to this materialistic road and "Volksdeutsch" shortsightedness as long as there is time. Those who, in their blindness and party politics, have become a tool for the destruction of Poland through the NKVD must remember that they will carry the whole responsibility for all misfortunes which will befall the country.

The most important duty of the Nation is to stick it out. Everyone should be aware of the deep changes in our ways of thinking, our psychology and attitude. We have arrived at such a stage with especially the peasant class and the workers, that if the world were to turn Communist, Poland will be the last to accept it.

We believe today more than ever that the ultimate victory belongs to the civilized West and to Christianity. We banked on that concept in 1939, we still are banking on it, and in spite of great hardships we will be victorious.

3. Soviet Courts in Poland

All remember the Soviet trials in Russia before the war. We saw murder after murder of their leaders, political and military. We often couldn't understand the methods of the NKVD to get these people to such a psychological state of repentance and of confession even of things they never had done. We can now observe the same tragi-comedy here. In a legal way with courts, judges, and prosecutors, all Soviet, and with especially devised decrees, the best elements are being liquidated, for so-called Fascism and treason. All know how the Polish resistance fought the Germans; nevertheless, today we are witnessing Communist extermination of these very people through public prosecution, condemning them for collaboration with the Germans and for Fascism. The only difference is that the Germans shot us without legal courts, now it is done with legality.

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Political trials are made to indict the Independence movements in the eyes of the Nation, and to discredit us in the eyes of a badly informed West.

Some months before the elections, secret instructions were given to the PPR and UB. In each community at least one political trial was to be staged, publicly. Underline the activity of the AK, WIN, PSL and clergy in these trials. The case must be made if there are no materials to indict these, provocation must be used if no other means are available.

A mass of these trials started. The most characteristic one is the case against Col. Rzepecki. Rzepecki was the leader of WIN. About the middle of 1945 he was arrested, together with his closest collaborators. The UB never disclosed the date of his arrest; after six months in prison and during which the "investigation" was conducted, this man, cut off completely from any contacts with the outside, and put under the strongest influence of the NKVD, lost faith in the movement for independence, and arrived at the conviction that his basic idea had been warped.

In the meantime, WIN went, and is still going, in the right direction and only their leader under the stress of the inquisition and the methods of the NKVD which lasted 1-1/2 years, lost faith in his prior thoughts, ideas and concepts.

We hear a lot of things said about this trial. We do not intend to defend anyone. It is, however, a fact that when he was giving out names he did not implicate anyone, as the names he did give out were already known. When we watched the heroism of the lower echelon who had been arrested, we felt a bad taste in the whole thing, as personal safety and welfare was being superimposed over the interests of the movement. We do not care whether it is right or wrong, we demand from the arrested leaders exemplary, and irreproachable behavior in connection with our ideology which we consider to be sacred.

On the other hand we must remember that an arrested leader is no more in that position. His orders will not be carried out. He is not responsible for the orders he is issuing from prison under NKVD pressure.

The whole case was conducted in view of showing up the banditry of the organization and supposedly was to be the coup de grace. At the same time, the pardon granted and the liberation of the prisoners was a new bait and the introduction to amnesty.

Summing up we state; we have important reservations in connection with the defense; we are glad of the pardon; we have our own opinion as to the amnesty.

The Nation must be prepared for more of this kind of thing. The UB is now preparing new cases against us, charging us with treasonable activity, and banditry, and fascism. Political trials being an indispensable form of conquest, will continue during this transitory period of our existence.

4. The Amnesty.

During the latter years we have seen all sorts of swindles, treason and falsification. All this is, however, pale when compared with the last elections. These will stay in the memory of the Nation forever, without the need to remind us by amnesties or other such performances.

We are not concerned at this time with the election. We are speaking of the amnesty. It is nothing new. In 1944 we received orders to attack - withdraw German forces and to cooperate with the Red Army - we were also told to disclose our members to their High Command. This happened in Volhynia, in Wilno and in Lwow, and Rzeszow. This was the first free disclosure. It ended in all cases by arrests and often shootings of the officers, the deportation of CO's and men to Siberia.

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This experience taught the Polish Organizations in the West, and they dispersed without showing themselves to the Soviet. The NKVD did not, however, give up. In the prisons it forced confessions from certain leaders; this happened in Warsaw, Cracow, Rzeszow, and Silesia. The treatment of those who came to light varied. Those who went for complete work with the UB were even rewarded. Others were only dismissed from the positions they held. Others again were arrested under all kinds of pretexts. All, however, were taken on the lists by the UB and are steadily watched by the local cells of that office.

The present amnesty is being praised to high heaven by the "bloc" press; we hear foreign commentators and the press acknowledge it. Only the Polish Nation is silent. The most interested look upon it with irony and compassion.

In connection with the amnesty, (a) All members of present-day organizations for Independence will follow strictly orders of their leaders; (b) Members of organizations under the first occupation (AK, BCh, WRN, NOW) working in lower echelons, if they have not been able to get back into legal life yet, can take advantage of the amnesty. Those in leading positions must, under all circumstances, become legal citizens by finding an alibi, without taking recourse, however, to the help of the NKVD or the UB; (c) Members of military forest groups will immediately stop all diversionary activity and go back to normal life, also without the help of the NKVD and UB. Officers, NCO's, and even men are being liquidated unconditionally.

Up-to-date experience teaches that we cannot believe any promises. We will believe the true intentions of the NKVD and UB after all political prisoners in Siberia have been liberated. This number of people, 6000 (4000 criminals, and 2,000 political) will not appease us, nor the 48,000 given out by the Min. U.E., but must involve the 1,200,000 Poles deported, and held in Soviet camps in the USSR.

No one can blame those who are showing up. Everyone is free to choose. Everyone must know how to best live through this, depending on local conditions, personal smartness and possibilities. Those who do show up must keep the secret. Implicating comrades, especially those who did not show up, will be treated as treason.

5. Latest News

Most criminals who have been freed have been trained to be informers. Great circumspection is ordered. We have also noticed that some who disclosed themselves have been rearrested.

6. Qualifications.

All know that the "bloc" political parties, trade unions, economic associations, social and youth organizations are led from above by the PPR. (PSL Nowe Wyzwolenia-Rek; PPS - Szwalbo and Osobka; SL - Korzycki; SI - Chein, Rzymowski;) This makes for the difference between the atmosphere of the masses and the decisions of the leaders.

Outside of the pushing in of PPR's into organizations, we also are witnessing the advancement of the least valuable elements in these organizations. This is by no means an accident. It is according to the directives of the PPR leadership (secret) who have decided what the qualifications are to be for "bloc" agents. The outstanding qualifications are:

- (1) A weak and easily influenced character
- (2) Money-grabbing and career seeking at any price
- (3) Smartness, and turn-coatism under PPR orders
- (4) Good speakers. People who always have their mouths full of patriotic and political slogans.

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Another directive warns about character and patriotism. These could put things on the proper level, they are dangerous, however, as they might not obey the PPR. We are notifying the Nation of this so that it will be easier to distinguish the real leaders from the stooges. After a stooge has been identified, comrades should be warned and all precautions should be taken.

7. PPR plans for the near future.

Even before the elections PPR started its action to destroy the legal opposition and the underground. PSL, from their point of view, is already on its last legs. At the present time the whole machinery is set to destroy the Underground forces.

The plans made are to root out the underground by propaganda, accusing it of treason and spying for the Western powers, and of banditry. The idea is to undermine faith in it with the Nation and to take away the basic means of its functioning.

After this underground has been demolished, the following will be attacked: (in the following order)

- (1) The nationalists from the NRO; NSZ; NOW
- (2) The leaders of the PSL
- (3) The Christian activists in the Stronnictwo Pracy (Labor Party)
- (4) The intelligentsia from the bourgeois-szancaya class

The next generation may not include any anti-Soviet elements. The means to demolish the underground are to be concentrated in the amnesty. Instructions have gone out to create "underground" cells to penetrate our organization. Those who are giving themselves up will be used under pressure. Some have already had propositions to stay in the underground and to promote their contacts in our organization.

PPR does not want to attack the Church frontally at the present - plans for this attack are laid out for years ahead. The destruction of the influence of the clergy and the Pope will be considered as the major victory. The silent fight against the Church is continuing. All the clergy are being watched constantly, they are accused of cooperation with the Underground.

To bring about apathy of the masses, the economic decisions are geared to the lowering of the standard of life, later to complete poverty. The man who is hungry, fighting for every piece of bread, is liable to every kind of influence. He loses his faith in independence and all the ideals he now has faith in.

The policy of the PPR is aiming at complete Communization of Poland, preventing any crystallization inside the country, and independence - promoting complete absorption and annihilation by the Soviets.